

584 or parents. There is sometimes a sort of indirect conversation between the boy and girl when they both talk to the same person, and some of the bolder youths may even address the girl directly. In such cases, however, neither should mention the name of the other as this would be a breach of etiquette.

584 Mar's courtship of Aya exemplifies the sanctions directed
582 against marriage with a relative. Mar and Aya were members of the same hamlet, but not of the same lineage. Despite the taboo on intra-sib marriage, Aya's brother had already married Mar's sister. Mar's betrothed, Yawa, was also a member of the same sib, so that if he married her and Aya he would be marrying girls who were related to one another as well as to himself, another reason for not courting Aya. The fact that Mar was neurotic presumably made his courtship somewhat atypical. The affair started when Aya asked Gwiya if he wanted to marry her. He replied that he was too young but that his brother, Mar, was looking for a wife. Aya seemed to like this suggestion and offered some fish that she had bought to Mar's aunt. The latter refused to accept them and told Aya that she should know better than to make advances to a boy in her own sib. This rebuff did not stop the couple. Mar gave Aya a razor blade to show that he was seriously interested in her, and they made plans to marry despite the disapproval of their elders, even if they had to elope. Aya's father, Waramus, finally got wind of the affair and told Mar, in no uncertain terms, to stop courting his daughter. As a result of this tirade, Mar had what seemed to be a nervous breakdown. He believed that his sickness resulted from being sorcerized by Waramus. He was in bed for more than a week, stayed home for another week, and did not recover his full strength for almost a month. During this time, the affair with Aya lapsed.

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[158] When Mar had fully recovered from his sickness, he began thinking of Aya again, but this time he was more careful in his approach. He talked the matter over with his paternal
[602] uncles (his father was not alive) and convinced them that it would be all right for him to marry Aya if Waramus would agree to it. In discussing the matter, they weighed the pros

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and cons carefully. The principal arguments against the match were that the two were of the same sib and that Mar was already engaged to a girl of his own hamlet. Mar and his supporters countered that, although he and Aya were of the same hamlet, they were of different lineages and were not very closely related. "Close enough to make their offspring sickly," argued those who were opposed to the match. The fact that Mar's sister had married Aya's brother was brought up as precedent, but was discounted because they had not as yet had any children. Someone suggested that it was probably because they were so closely related that they had had no children. A telling argument in favor of the match arose from the fact that Mar had not received the bride-price for his sister, and that if he married Aya this would cancel the debt, thus relieving a situation which usually leads to trouble — unpaid debts within the hamlet. Another argument in favor of the match was that Mar was lazy and susceptible to sorcery (the Kwoma way of describing a neurotic), so that he might have difficulty in finding a girl who would marry him. It therefore seemed advisable to allow him to accept any girl who would have him. Mar rebutted the argument that he was already affianced to a girl in the sib by saying that she was no good and that he would never marry her. The upshot of the whole discussion was that Mar's *paternal uncles* agreed to support him if Waramus was willing. One of Mar's *paternal uncles* sounded Waramus out and discovered that, although he was not pleased with the idea, he would agree if Mar paid him a certain amount of bride-price in addition to canceling the debt owed for Mar's sister.

Mar was delighted with the prospect that the marriage might take place, and he became very friendly with Aya's brother. They went hunting together, helped each other gardening, bleached one another's hair, and even began to build a canoe together. Mar made plans to elope with Aya because he did not have enough money to pay the bride-price in advance as Waramus insisted. He arranged with two of his *sisters* to go fishing with Aya. He was to meet them, and then he and Aya would go to their bush house until Waramus

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[657] on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due here in a few days on his patrol.

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and

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[192] inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term narembay we find has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamperans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't

[264] yet know. Later on when one's narembay dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different from Hongwan. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being
[158] here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he

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627 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik, this fellow by name, came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,